



Beggarism and Black Market Tourism – A Case Study of the city of Chaar Minaar in Hyderabad (India)

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Table 1: Typology of beggars

Typology of beggars	Female beggars	Age	Male beggars	Age
Passive	4 (with kids)	18, 20, 35, 48	6	37, 38, 42, 49, 55, 58
Aggressive	2	38, 45	3	22, 34, 37
Active	4 (with kids)	19, 30, 38, 45	2 (with kids)	36, 51
Old age	1	74	1	62

Source: authors

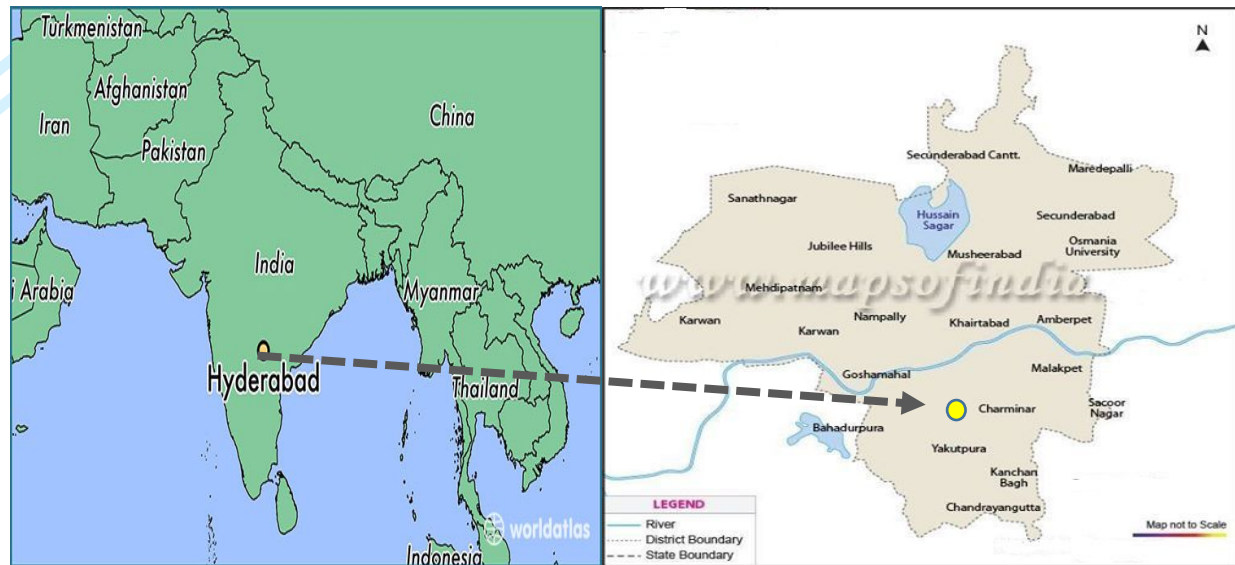


Figure 1: Location of Hyderabad in India

Source: maps.google.com, 2019



Performing Beggars in the City of Hyderabad Picture source: taken by authors

53x61mm (220 x 220 DPI)

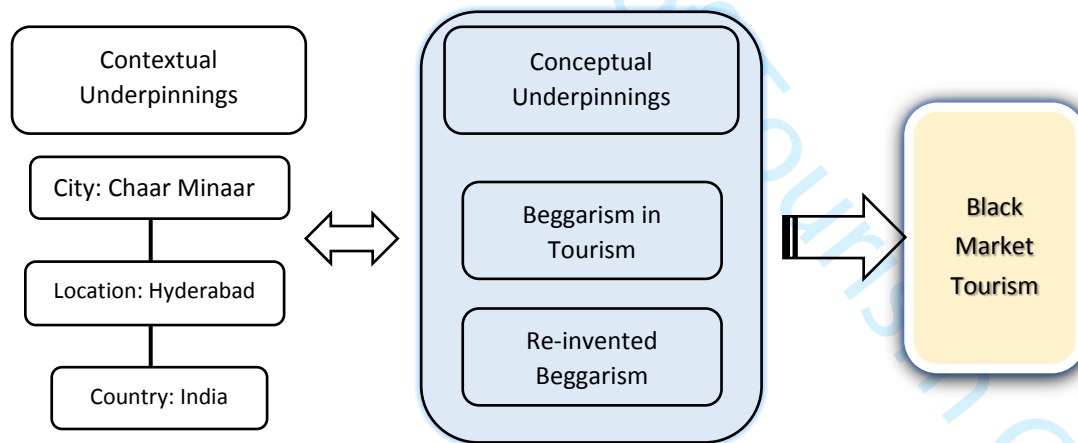


Figure 3: Black Market Tourism Framework

Source: Authors

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Abstract

Purpose - Begging is undoubtedly an ancient phenomenon but when explored from the tourism perspective, it is relatively new. Begging has existed across several historical periods, but with sophistication and savviness, it has developed into a lucrative form of tourism business. While previous studies have reasonably explored the beggar-tourist interaction in several socio-economic contexts, the present one attempts to research an unusual aspect of these encounters which is termed as ‘black market tourism’. In the current study, black market is explained as a clandestine but visible market where tourism transactions take place within three important stakeholders namely the beggars, the tourists and shopkeepers. The transaction is found to have some aspects of illegality, but ultimately, serves the manifest function of yielding money and growing the underground network. This triangular interaction is therefore of relevance to understand the functioning of this black market involving those key stakeholders. With this notion as foundation, the present study empirically and conceptually explores the phenomenon of black market tourism which is derived from the beggar-tourist- shopkeeper encounter in an important city of India called Hyderabad. The specific location of the study was Chaar Minaar, a popular tourism city with ancient monument and shopping places in Hyderabad (India). Tourism in India is undeniably infused with the notions of colour and culture, but how this colourful context gradually developed into a colorless black market tourism economy is worthy of study.

Design / methodology / approach / findings - From a methodological point of view, this conceptual paper draws on unobtrusive research methods (written records, non-participant observations, informal interviews and occasional photography). Findings show that begging is developing into a lucrative industry without costly investment and beggars operate in a cartel. The black tourism market is found to be an emerging underground tourism economy with established

stakeholders, who are rapidly progressing and growing their network. The network is seen to be increasingly attracting educated and young professionals.

Social aspect: The study has a social aspect as it takes the involvement of three stakeholders namely the tourists, the beggars and the shopkeepers. The study shows how begging transactions affect the three stakeholders and it sheds light on its overall impact for Hyderabad, as a tourism destination.

Originality / Value – No tourism study (academic and non-academic) has so far considered the beggar-tourist encounter from a black market perspective. The findings offer new information on a reinvented form of beggarism and unveils that this black market is a well-entrenched system operated by an educated pool of people and professional. Ultimately, the study attempts to show that disempowered members of the community (beggars) are not always passive and powerless. They can create business out of another business (a re-invented form of beggarism that has potential to generate money out of tourism).

Keywords: Tourism, reinvented beggarism; Black Market Tourism; Chaar Minaar, Hyderabad (India);

Introduction

Begging is undoubtedly an ancient phenomenon (Andriotis, 2016), but when explored from the tourism perspective, it is relatively new. Begging has existed across several historical periods, and it is a common phenomenon in many historical cities where tourists tend to concentrate (Wardhaugh, 2009). For instance, beggars continue to be part of popular cities like London, Paris, San Francisco, and Athens still beggars, despite having reached a significant level of socio-economic development (see Andriotis, 2016). As a result, an increasing number of studies have reported that beggars, who, in their attempt to encounter a large number of tourists, create their own space within cities, and operate an established network with stakeholders like shopkeepers and tourists (See Riaz and Baloch, 2019; Qiao, Chen, and Prideaux, 2017, Bukoye, 2015, Malik

and Roy, 2012; Adriaenssens and Hendrickx, 2011). Based on these evidences, it is clear that the act of begging (termed as beggarism thereafter) is no longer a survival activity, but rather a growing lucrative business in countries like Pakistan, China, Nigeria, Brussel and India, Nigeria and China. To further strengthen this observation, the study of Bukoye (2015) in Nigeria shows that adult and children mostly engage in street begging in city of Lagos and Abuja, as those cities are visited by tourists, who are easily encountered on the streets; beggars have their work plan and they operate in team in order to capitalize on the tourism market (see Adedibu and Jelili, 2011; Azam, 2011). The lucrateness of begging has therefore encouraged the business to grow exponentially. This is also evidenced in the research of Dewiyanti and Rosmalia (2018) who analyse motivation of beggars in Indonesia and reveal that tourism is a potential target, as it not only provides tips in foreign currencies, but also opens up opportunities for further interaction. Whilst the topic of begging has attracted a good deal of attention in public debate, the interactions of those involved in the begging business have not been sufficiently explored. Existing studies (Dewiyanti and Rosmalia, 2018; Andriotis, 2013; Bukoye, 2015; Pathirana and Gnanapala (2015); Esobonu (2012); Chockalingum and Ganesh, 2010) have indeed laid sufficient emphasis on activities, strategies and experiences of beggars, but what seems not to be adequately explored is the beggar-tourist-shopkeeper transaction in a black market. In the current study, black market tourism is explained as a clandestine but visible market where tourism transactions are performed by beggars and which have aspect of illegality and ultimately, serves the same manifest function of yielding an income. This triangular interaction is therefore of interest and of relevance to the understanding of this black market. Given the dearth of studies on this unusual form of transaction, the current exploratory study attempts to offer a novel perspective of begging which has been reinvented. The study empirically and conceptually explores the phenomenon of begging in a black market context derived from the beggar-tourist-shopkeeper encounter. Taking as a case of Char Minaar, a popular tourism city in Hyderabad (India), this study attempts to investigate a black market economy created by tourism and involving those three main stakeholders. The methodology of the study draws from an unobtrusive approach based on naturalistic data collection techniques (written records, non-participant observations, occasional photography and informal unstructured interviewing). No tourism study (academic and non-academic) has so far considered the beggar-tourist encounter from a black market perspective. In response, this study throws some light upon a triangular transaction between beggar, tourist and shopkeeper in the city of

Hyderabad. The study therefore not only builds on tourism literature but also advances knowledge on how beggarism and tourism create a new form of underground economy termed as black market tourism. The findings offer new information on a reinvented form of beggarism and unveils that this black market is a well-entrenched system operated by an educated pool of people and professional. To some extent, this study is empowering beggars to become part of the tourism ecosystem. This is important, as modern society has disempowered economically- disadvantaged members of the community (Hutton, 2016). As a result, the study will attempt to show that these disempowered members of the community are neither passive nor powerless (Hutton, 2016). The outcome of the study have implications on the future directions of the Indian tourism industry.

The paper is organized around four distinct parts: the first part addresses the contextual underpinnings; the city of Hyderabad and its begging context is introduced. The next part presents the conceptualization aspect; theories on beggarism and black market tourism are discussed. The third part is dedicated to research methods and the final part proposes the overall observations and outcome of the study.

Contextual and Conceptual Underpinnings

Contextual framework

Hyderabad – a growing tourism city

The contextual framework sets out the geographic limits of the study. For the current study, the city of Hyderabad is chosen as a case study. Hyderabad is the capital of the Indian state of Telangana and it comprises two main cities namely Hyderabad and Secunderabad (Parthasarathy, 2016). With a population of about 8 million and a metropolitan population estimated above 9 million, it is the fourth most populous city and sixth most populous urban agglomeration in India (Das, 2015). From 1956 to 2014, Hyderabad was the capital of Andhra Pradesh state, but, with the creation of Telangana in 2014, it was re-designated as the capital of both states. Figure 1 locates the city of Hyderabad in India and that of Chaar Minaar, the study area.

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

Similar to other cities in India, Hyderabad did not lag behind in using this competitive advantage. As a result, tourism is a booming business, as the city is richly surrounded by important culture and heritage sites like Chaar Minar, Falaknuma Palace, Makkah Masjid lying on the southern bank of River Musi. The city features several man-made lakes and the most prominent of all is the Hussain Sagar Lake, built in the mid-16th century, located in the centre of the city.

Tourism has always had a spillover effect as it induces further businesses (see Cooper, 1998; Wall, 1997). Hyderabad is not an exception and the city is now world known for its rich history, food and multi-lingual culture. In fact, locals often proudly describe this unique city as the land of:

1. Biryani - A flavored rice with meat and spices cooked over slow flame;
2. Khoobani – Special local sweets;
3. Irani – Local tea;
4. Sherwani – Traditional Hyderabad suit; and
5. Nizaami – Local royal lifestyle;

Hyderabad also hosts various traditional market known as ‘Bazaar’ and these are fondly visited by tourists; Laad Bazaar, Begum Bazaar and Sultan Bazaar are popular tourist places.

Chaar Minaar City – the area of study

Historically, cities have been major tourist attractions and potential sources for both formal and informal businesses (Ashworth and Page, 2010). The area of study, Chaar Minaar, a mosque monument with four pillars (Chaar means four and Minaar means pillar in the local Hindi language), is a global icon of Hyderabad. In this respect, many tourism businesses have been established around this area as it has strong potential of attracting tourists and investors. Chaar Minaar is also known as the ‘city of pearls’ dues to its numerous pearl and diamond trading centres and it has attracted lots of formal and informal tourism businesses. Slocum et al (2011) define the informal economy as all those individuals and businesses that engage with tourists and the tourism industry, but are not registered with any formal association or trade organization. In Chaar Minaar,

the informal business comprise street food vendors, local tour guides, transport providers, music performers, artisans, prostitutes, providers of homestays, tourist helpers, and of course beggars. The latter activities can also be accounted into the informal business as studies show that begging is an informal profession and beggars are often involved in some form of trades with locals (see Malik and Roy, 2012; Pathirana and Gnanapala, 2015; Hailu, 2017). In the city of Hyderabad, about 15,000 beggars (of which 1500 are children) have been reported in the study of Khan (2017). The survey was undertaken by a voluntary organization in the context of a governmental mission of making Hyderabad a beggar-free city. The study further reveals that approximately 14,000 beggars roam around tourism cities, of which 98 % of them were professionals earnings as much as Indian Rupees 24 crore (3,374,400 USD) per annum. This gives an indication of the amount of money yielded from the begging business and therefore provides legitimacy to the work of Riaz and Baloch (2019) who argue that a growing number of educated people are now increasingly joining the begging business than respectable professions.

Conceptual framework

Once the context has been identified, literature is used to establish the relationship and operationalize the concepts for observation (Fox et al., 2014). According to Cooper (1998), every scientific investigation begins with the review and analysis of existing literature. This leads to get a broader picture of the world. The conceptual underpinnings are now proposed:

Concept 1: Beggarism and Tourism

Begging is generally seen as an act of asking for money, goods or services, with the idea that the beggar is helpless and he needs help for livelihood. Few responsible and conscious beggars sometimes prefer to sell small items such as hand- made products or flowers, in return for money that may have little to do with the value of the item for sale (Riaz and Baloch, 2019). Begging therefore includes all informal economic activities or trade that take place off the books and involve the individual asking for a donation from the tourist, or a non-reciprocated gift, on the basis of being poor and in need of charitable donations. However, a growing number of studies now reveal that begging is not always linked to helplessness and livelihood. Rather, it has been re-

invented and transformed into a lucrative profession. For instance, the studies of Adriaenssens and Hendrickx (2011), Malik and Roy (2012), Bukoye (2015), Qiao, Chen, and Prideaux (2017), Christiawan and Wesnawa, (2017) are clear evidences that the act of begging is a trading business in countries like Belgium, India, Nigeria, Indonesia and China. As such, beggarism is found to be an important concept in tourism, as it is not only serving the purpose of getting money, but also it is satisfying the needs of some tourists who are interested to experience authenticity.

Beggarism in tourism is manifested in different ways. The study of Brito (2013) identified several forms of begging in Thailand and India and these are summarized as follows: warm-up passive begging, that is, begging seated holding a cup; irritating begging, that is following tourists on long distances; and amusing begging where children try to amuse tourists. In Greece, Andriotis (2016) discovered three different types of beggars namely classic beggars, table-to-table beggars and performing beggars. Classic beggars were those who evoked the pity of those who envisaged to fulfill their religious obligations through almsgiving. Such beggars are usually located in sacred places. The passivity of classic beggars and the lack of any verbal communication with tourists were sometimes seen as a deliberate strategy to communicate their claims visually by incarnating an image of poverty and allowing their pitiful condition to convey their message without using words. This point is also echoed by Kaushik (2014) who argues that ‘in various religions like in Islam, Christianity and Hinduism, seeking alms is an opportunity to earn God’s blessings’ (cited in Riaz and Baloch, 2019: 75). Indeed in the early civilizations, alms giving was considered as a holly deed and begging an honorable act and ancient religious feast included alms giving as a ritual. Table to table beggars were those who perform activities (vending, singing, playing instrument, funny acts) to individual tourists and claim for money or any form of donation. As opposed to classic and table-to-table beggars, who were seen as a nuisance to tourists, Andriotis (2016) observed that performing beggars was considered as a tourist attraction as beggars entertained tourists in public places, while soliciting money. For instance, taking a picture with Charlie Chaplin, Mickey Mouse or Donald Duck. This type of begging is also seen in destinations like India, France and Malaysia, where beggars solicit donations after singing, performing or vending in public spaces (Bruto, 2013).A similar observation was also noted in the study of Christiawan and Wesnawa (2017) who reveal this reinvented facet of begging which takes place in Denpasar city (Indonesia) and where tourists (seen as rich people) are targeted. Alternatively,

this act was considered as part of the tourism experience, as roving beggars, is seen as authenticity in the tourism experience (Andriotis, 2016). In Nigeria, the work of Bukoye (2015), categorized beggarism based techniques of begging such as professional begging, active, passive and aggressive begging whereas in Shanghai, Lu (1999) categorized beggars into midnight beggars (those standing outside theaters, cinemas and other places of entertainment at midnight to beg), bridge helpers (beggars who offer some sort of service, for the purpose of receiving a gratuity), following beggars (following pedestrians and asking them for money) and public lavatory beggars (those asking for money for exchange of an empty space in a crowded lavatory). A further study of Erskine and McIntosh (1999) reported that throughout the centuries the representation of people who beg is consistently built upon three associated images: fraudulent beggars, such as children or shamming disabilities who evoke pity, professional impostors working in an organized criminal network and beggars acquiring wealth. In the context of the present study, beggars are defined from the point of view of Andriotis, (2016) - the performing ones - and from the point of view of (Burkoye, 2015) – the professional ones. The rationale behind this combination is that the study's main objective is to investigate certain aspects of organized begging dealing within a black market.

Concept 2: Re-invented beggarism in tourism

Now that it is well established that begging takes place in several forms, it is plausible to suggest that tourism is a fertile ground for this form of activity. Tourists are usually seen as potential targets in the eyes of beggars, as from one hand, tourists are interested to visit local places and on another hand, they are often roaming on their own to enjoy the tourism experience (Seraphin, 2014; Thomson, 2004). In this scenario, beggars capitalise on this encounter with the 'pretense' of offering some help or advising on places to visit and they often refer tourists to their fellow people who complete the task of extracting maximum money from tourists. This aspect of organized begging is also noted in the work of Bukoye (2015) and Brito (2013). With new trends, begging is seen to be a re-invented form of business based on experience and networking, and it is remarkably profitable. The new smart and savvy beggars are now increasingly tapping on the tourism market (see Delap, 2009, Gössling et al, 2004, Andriotis, 2016). They play on the sympathy of tourists and try to capitalize on this encounter by establishing contact with the tourists in order to maximize on benefit, even after the end of their visit. Beggarism is found to be a networking activity, where beggars capture attention by using physically-disabled children, pathetic-looking old people, pity-

evoking mothers carrying kids in order to establish a contact to be used in the long term. For instance, in India, connected beggars operate in a cartel to maximize on prospects. In the present context, a cartel is a group of beggars who organize the begging as a team and share their money when successful in their collective endeavours. As such, they choose their begging spaces where important public places like bus stops, metro stations, public gardens, religious sites, tourist markets, taxi stands to operate the begging operation. This is also observed in the study of Ahamdi (2010) who demonstrates that beggars have tendencies to concentrate in metropolitan areas. The organized beggars are therefore placed along buzy roads. They start their operation when cars stop in traffic jam, they follow the car till possible, and if not successful, they communicate to their fellow mates begging at the next traffic point in order to accomplish the unfinished business and the money is shared among themselves. With progress in technology, begging has turned out to be a lucrative form of business in many tourism countries (see Bukoye, 2015, Andriotis, 2016, Qiao, Chen, and Prideaux, 2017, Christiawan and Wesnawa 2017) and educated people are found to be more interested to join the begging business than respectable professions (See Riaz and Baloch, 2019).

From a tourism perspective, begging is often be seen as part of the tourism process, based on a number of studies which show that engaging with beggars is a way of experiencing the local lifestyle and hence it contributes to their experience (Brito, 2013; Andriotis, 2016; Kotler et al, 1993). For instance, the study of Brito (2013) identified a type of tourist in India who regularly visited the place and had privileged relations with individuals belonging to the begging community. A similar observation was also noted in the city of Heraklion (Greece); beggars were successful to evoke pity and they established contact with a small number of sympathetic tourists (Andriotis, 2009, 2016). From a tourism point of view, begging can be a very powerful pull factors because of its authenticity, a point also shared by Qiao, Chen and Prideaux, 2017: 282): ‘begging can be transformed into an activity that is seen as part of local culture or traditions, “begging” could be seen as adding to the flavor of destinations’. As a result, beggarism not only exists in developing countries, but also in developed tourism destinations where tourism has become a highly visible activity (Andriotis, 2016).

The other side of re-invented beggarism

Whilst studies above show that beggarism is a form of tourism attraction, some other studies portray it as a distraction preventing tourist to enjoy their tourism experiences. The study of Brito (2013), Bukoye (2015) and Andriotis (2016) are testament to the view that beggarism in tourism does not always represent authenticity or creativity in tourism experience. To support the claim, Brito (2013) unveils how children in India harass tourists to obtain money and personal belongings. Likewise, the study of Andriotis (2016) in Greece also captured the same impression; tourists felt harassed by aggressive begging which imposed psychological nuisances. The type of harassed tourists had the most varied reactions and either was forced to donate beggars in order to get them to leave, or they had to find a way to prevent an unwanted intimidation escalation (Andriotis, 2016:73). In other cases, organized begging takes place where beggars deliberately misguide tourists and other members of the same team pretend to come for rescue, accompany the tourists to the destination and finally claim huge amount of money in return.

Begging can also negatively impact on the aesthetic beauty of destination. The study of Hailu (2017) shows that in Addis Ababa (Capital City in Ethiopia) the presence of beggars begging along all corners of the city not only impacted upon its beauty but also on tourist flows. Specifically, interviewed community policing officers expressed negative impacts of begging both for the beauty of city and safety of tourists. Likewise, a study conducted by Chockalingum and Ganesh (2010) shows that tourism in India had a remarkable growth, but one of the main problems encountered by tourists visiting Tamil Nadu, was begging and this was one factor which negatively affected repeat visitation. The negative publicity portrayed by tourists exerts more influence on destination's image and can be responsible for the downfall of sales of products and services (Li, Wu and Mai, 2019; Ishida, Slevitch and Siamionava, 2016). Despite the positive and negative impacts of beggarism in tourism, new trends show that since re-invented beggarism has the potential to generate big amount of money, beggars continue their business and they are not joining any respectable profession (Riaz and Baloch, 2019). As a result, beggarism in the context of tourism, may be defined as any activity or performance which either adds value to the tourism experience while generating money to the performer or it simply disrupts the tourism experience, thereby causing bad publicity to the destination.

In other cases, due to the negative view of the public towards beggars, and the persistent stories about ‘organized begging’ and exploitation (Adriaenssens & Hendrickx, 2011), some ‘unconcerned tourists’ as explained by Andriotis (2016), ignored beggars, and pretended not to notice them. For the unconcerned tourists, encounters with beggars were merely banner moments and ignorance was their most common reaction towards begging. In some cases, aggressive begging is also undertaken and beggars operate in a team to deliberately push the tourists towards their fellow friends’ areas. Aggressive begging is a form of begging where beggarism involves harsh words, intimidations and indirect way of harassing tourists. For instance, in India, ‘Hijras’ curse tourists who refuse to give money (see Malik and Roy, 2012) and curses from ‘Hijras’ are considered curses from God. *Hijras* include individuals such as transgendered males, transsexuals, and members of the ‘third sex’. They are usually considered as special creatures of God and hence, their blessing and curses matter a lot for Indians and non-Indians who understand the local culture. ‘Hijras’ are usually attractively dressed as women, despite having the body of a man. Since they are often not acceptable in Indian societies (referred as social outcast), they are often abandoned by their parents and hence have less chances to be admitted to schools. As a result, they are mostly uneducated, and they survive as performing beggars, prostitutes, singers, artists, or entertainers (Azam, 2011).

Concept 3: Black Market Tourism

Since the concept of black market tourism is a novelty in tourism literature, not much could be retrieved from existing studies. Available research on begging and tourism were mainly focused on illicit exchange of currency (Lehman, 1980), illegal activities of adults and children in the begging process (Gossling, 2004; Bukoye, 2015; Riaz and Baloch, 2019), and impacts of begging on tourists (Guanghai et al, 2017; Chockalingum, 2010). While considerable information on begging activities were detailed, none of them considered the implications from a black market perspective. Because black market transactions are by their nature illicit, it is difficult to acquire information on the volume of transactions taking place in any market (Pozo and Wheeler, 1999). Available studies from other fields explain that the black market is not only an index of economic conditions, but is important for individual and group survival and the maintenance of social

structure in countries having long term weakened economies active (see Pozo and Wheeler, 1999; Dornbush, 1983). Black market tourism proliferates mostly in cities as, they are emerging as main economic engine of world economy (Cibinskiene & Snieskiene, 2015). Just like governments, businesses, have shown much interest in investing in city tourism, beggars have also shown interest to progress their business. For example, the city of Cirebon in Malaysia has potential for tourism due to its cultural and architectural value. In parallel, beggars have also created their spaces to benefit from the tourism business. Inside the black market, an established cartel with drug dealers, mafia people, shopkeepers and beggars are usually found. Beggars are usually categorized into two types in such kind of black market; those who have no choice and are forced into begging; and those who have mastered the art of begging and make a substantial amount of money from it. Beggarism, in this case, is quite often carried out in organized gangs (see Riaz and Baloch, 2019; Gosling et al, 2004) and tourism sites are the preferred locations (see Hyderabad News, 2010).

Black market tourism is usually explained as a clandestine but visible market where tourism transactions are performed by beggars and which have aspect of illegality and ultimately, serves the same manifest function of yielding money (Andriotos, 2016). *Illegality in the present context, refers to such transactions which are not accounted for in the official log book, but which takes place under cover for a win-win situation. For instance, sex services offered to tourists in a country where prostitution is illegal. In this case, the sex worker is remunerated for his or her service while tourist gets satisfaction, and hence it is a win-win for both. This is also encapsulated in the statement of Guttentag (2015) who explains that for the tourists, tourism is about actual and desired experience. From the perspective of the beggar, begging is seen as an occupation (Ogunkan and Fawole, 2009; Adedibu and Jelili, 2011) deliberately chosen as a profession and it generates additional money. This is apparent especially in cities due to many pull factors supported by urbanization which urged people to move towards better socio-economic opportunities (Gurav, 2015). Roving beggars, who in their attempt to encounter a large number of tourists create their own space within the city, and this is a common phenomenon in many historical cities where tourists tend to concentrate (Andriotis, 2016). Beggarism in black market also include the selling of alms and donations by tourists to shops which accept second hand products against money. The black market may include all those informal economic activities that take place off the books. In this case, the main stakeholder of this black market is found to be the shopkeepers who are willing*

to accept second-hand products for resale. The shopkeepers form part of the organized gang and they mostly do not declare those goods. Since the nature and extent of begging has evolved over time, beggarism has turned into a lucrative business for shopkeepers who usually work on small profit (Azam, 2011). Black market in tourism is also often associated with drugs, prostitution, foreign currency exchange, human trafficking, animal trafficking, trade trafficking and the like (see Adam and Sanchez, 2008). In some cases, children are stolen and forced into begging after being mutilated (Qiao, Chen, and Prideaux, 2017). Like many other street-level informal activities, begging in the black market serves the same manifest function of working in general, that is, to establish a trading network, to yield income, and to develop and encourage those forms of transactions. Certain mafia works behind the begging network. Pitiful looking children are engaged to beg not for cash, but for school materials (pens, copy books text books among others) and upon receiving them, they return them back to the black market for cash. The study of Adam and Sanchez (2008) in Cuba shows that the black market is operated by a well-organized gang who collaborate with factories to obtain authenticity label to be used on fake products and sold to tourists as branded product. With this trend, many historical cities have attracted black market tourism. Activities developed by the disempowered of the modern society to be re-empowered as consumers and ‘normal’ citizens have been theorized by Hutton (2016) as reframing their economic vulnerability via resilient pathways.

Methodology

Inspired from the work of Andriotis (2016) and Dewiyanti and Rosmalis (2018), the current study was based on naturalistic data collection technique and unobtrusive approach (written records, non-participant observation, occasional photography) and informal interviews. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the manner in which individuals experience a natural setting and the meanings they associate with it are highly subjective. Thus, the qualitative method of naturalistic inquiry, which adopts logical procedures of methods to study behavioral acts by placing the researcher as sociological observer close to the people can help in the understanding of complex human phenomena of people’s interactions as they naturally occur (Denzin, 1971). Given the fact that the population of beggars was difficult to reach (mainly due to general distrust and significant language barriers) beggars under study were not able to communicate satisfactorily in English. To

overcome these limitations, a multi-method unobtrusive approach and informal interview were adopted, as this allowed strengths of individual methods to compensate for limitations in others. The study adopted the following unobtrusive methods: written records, data from local articles, non-participant observations, and occasional photography. Unobtrusive methods are considered more reliable for the reason that “when subjects know they are being observed, they might skew data, consciously or unconsciously, to create a different impression to the outsider” (O'Brien, 2010: 4). According to Andriotis (2016), there are authors, who criticize unobtrusive methods and blame them for selective recording and an over-reliance on single methods (see Bochner, 1972). Albers and James (1988) believe that observing and photographing people without their knowledge or consent can be an ethically questionable practice. Despite those disadvantages, unobtrusive methods can be “the only method by which information can be gathered, when access to the usual sources of information is obstructed by those in power (Code of Ethics of the International Sociological Association, quoted from Andriotis, 2016). Due to the fact that in street observations, information are public and the researcher is a legitimate member of the public, data collection does not involve an invasion of subjects' privacy (Kellehear, 1993), but instead it may be considered that “there is an implicit consent to general observation by all actors within public space” (Wardhaugh, 2009: 335). According to Bouchard (1976, cited in Andriotis, 2016), no individual measure is perfect. As a result, data obtained from the unobtrusive method was supplemented with data from informal interviews with shopkeepers and beggars.

The study took place in various phases. The first step comprised literature review conducted by the two academic researchers whereas the local collaborator was not involved. The aim was to highlight the literature gap. The second stage, which was about collection of data at the city of Chaar Minaar, was undertaken by the main researcher with the help of a local collaborator in Hyderabad. The researchers chose to start the survey in front of the main monument, the Chaar Minaar, as it is the centre of commercial shops and activities and the melting pot of many side businesses such as begging, prostitution and black market sales. The study took place from January 2019 to March 2019 at Chaar Minaar city in Hyderabad. This period was chosen, as the main researchers was attending a training session in the city of Hyderabad, and hence, she used the opportunity to collect data; this saved from travelling and accommodation costs. Data was collected during 9 week-ends (18 days) and the main investigator was accompanied by the local

collaborator. During the data collection phase, researchers started the day with observations and writing and whenever possible, the local researcher arranged informal interview with beggars and shopkeepers. Since the focus was mainly on beggars, the number of tourists that were encountered was not taken into account. Rather, the encounters between beggar-tourist and beggar-shopkeeper that were recorded. The duration of the data collection was approximately 8 hours and in few occasions, when it went beyond 9 hours, as interaction with beggars was prolonged in order to extract maximum information.

The convenience sampling technique was utilized as it was difficult to pre-determine the number of beggars that could be encountered and their willingness to participate in the study. The informal interview questions formulated for beggars related to: age and education, family background, begging motivation, begging experience, begging network, amount of money generated from begging, and their future plans. Beggars were first approached by the local researcher. Informal questions in the form of casual talks were first initiated by the local collaborator in the local native language (Telugu and Hindi) in order to understand if beggars were willing to participate in the conversation. When they responded positively, the main researcher joined the conversation. At first, beggars were not too enthusiastic to participate in the informal interviews. However, when they got rewarded for giving information on their begging routine, they were willing to spend more times with the interviewers; a token of 100 Indian Rupees (approximately 1 US dollar) was offered. In addition, the local representative helped in interpreting the conversation between beggars and shopkeepers who used the native ‘Hyderabadi’ jargon. Interview stopped when saturation was reached, that is, when data redundancy was achieved and no new information was obtained. In total, 23 beggars were successfully interviewed and their age range varied from 22 to 62 years (see Table 1).

Interviews certainly tend to dominate tourism research, yet on occasions where the focus of research is to investigate human beings and their social world, methods which do not involve talking with people can result in more spontaneous behaviors. In the present case, it was not possible to interview the 8 shopkeepers that were involved in the begging network, as they were aggressive with the local collaborator. As a result, the study relied on non-participant observations and information generated from beggars. To observe the beggar-shopkeeper interaction, the local

researcher deliberately purchased food items and drink to consume on the spot and engaged in casual talks, while the main researcher engaged in non-participant observations. Photography was taken against money and the only beggar who accepted to be photographed was an entertainer (Figure 2).

Data collected through observations included: how beggars approached tourists, the method used to convince tourists to give donation, who accompany them in the begging process, whether beggars engaged in activities auxiliary to begging, such as selling small items, singing, playing a musical instrument, applying 'Henna', a form of temporary Indian tattoo, when (the times in which begging did or did not take place); where (in key locations); and for how long (duration of interactions) and more important, which shops do they visit after the begging activity. However, observations could not be done continuously, as it aroused doubts and beggars were found moving away as they felt they were being observed. In such cases, performing beggars were helpful as, the main researcher could see the performance while focusing on the real motivation. In the process, it was easier to converse with them and extract information on their begging activities.

To co-ordinate data from observations and interviews, the main researcher kept field notes. Content analysis was done through data selection, data reduction process, structuring, coding and interpretation of meaning. The use of secondary sources were helpful to identify some similarities and differences with other tourism destinations and cities of India. The primary data was then analyzed in conjunction with secondary data. During the final stage of naturalistic inquiry, analysis of the written descriptions of the study phenomenon was undertaken. In so doing, data included in the notebook were read and re-read, bracketed, and compared to identify the essence of the phenomenon. The final stage also involved assembling, cross-validating and content analysis of data collected from those methods.

Overall Observations

Since the unobtrusive method was chosen (Lee, 2000), much of what was seen during the non-participant observations, could be considered as a potential source of data, even when at first sight, data seemed to be trivial, perplexing or out of the ordinary.

Typology and Task of re-invented beggars

Of the 23 beggars interviewed, 10 passive beggars were found sitting near taxi stand and Rikshaw stand, while others were roving around key tourist places like restaurants, jewelry shops, souvenirs shops and market places. Drawing from the work of Bukoye (2015), the 23 beggars observed could fall in the following category:

- Professional beggars – Those operating and trading with an organized gang
- Performing beggars – Those soliciting money in return of a performance or sexual service
- Passive old age Beggars: Those either sitting or standing in one place and expecting donations.
- Active Beggars: Those moving from place to place while soliciting for money and gifts
- Aggressive Beggars: Those following and forcing people to give money and if not successful, harsh words, curses and intimidations were used.

These are further detailed in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 here

From the 13 remaining roving beggars, 6 were men while 7 were women. From the female side, 8 women carried children, 2 were single and 1 was without kid. It was not possible to classify surveyed beggars into the professional category, as authors could not establish a particular metric to determine their characteristics; aggressive and professional beggars had so many overlapping characteristics. For instance, aggressive beggars showed some level of professionalism while calling their fellow friends to wait for the tourists at specific places and continue the task of exploitation. This indicates beggars operated in an organized gang. Under this circumstance, all of them could be qualified as professional beggars except the old couple. Similar to previous studies which established that tourist spots are favorite begging places (Brito, 2013; Andriotis, 2009;

Wardhaugh, 2009), the case of Chaar Minaar was not an exception. In the city of Char Minaar, beggars' interactions with tourists were found to be sometimes intense and sometimes brief and superficial. This observation corresponds with that of Andriotis (2016) study who also found that a type of unconcerned tourists who chose to ignore beggars, despite being followed by beggars' children. For the unconcerned tourists, encounters with beggars were merely banner moments and ignorance was their most common reaction towards begging. Some beggars were aggressive as they forced tourists to give something and they even cursed if tourists ignored their request. This type of aggressive begging was also noted in Nigeria where beggars forced people to give money and if not successful, harsh words, curses and intimidations were used (Bukoye, 2015). The aggressive beggars were found to be always nervous as they had a quota to respect daily. Few young beggars (age range of 22 to 30) reported that their gang leader assigned specific places to undertake the begging and if they failed to complete their tasks, they were usually deprived of food or beaten, but in some cases, they were excused.

Unlike the study conducted by Qiao, Chen and Prideaux (2017) which revealed that elder beggars are active and roving in China, the present one showed that the old beggars in Hyderabad are rather passive. The female beggars attempted to evoke pity by carrying under-aged children; they asked for money to feed their children. In other cases, ladies were found showing pictures of their burnt houses or family and on this basis, they asked for money and personal belongings. One of the female beggar was pregnant, and she followed a tourists till their hotels to collect the donations, as she was successful in arousing sympathy. Another female beggar was found to attract attention by her solo traditional dance performance. As tourists approached take pictures, she proposed to sell her small local items such as incense sticks, artificial flowers and glass bangles. This is well supported in the observation of Brito (2013) who explains that begging sometimes involves the soliciting monetary or non-monetary reward based on musical and other performances, but which do not always qualify for a financial compensation, and the selling of small items during or after the performance may have little to do with the value of the item.

As compared to the men, the women were found to be more receptive, to talk about their educational and family background, the begging network and the amount of money earned from

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4 begging. They unanimously revealed that they could not read and write, but they could speak few
5 English words such as 'thank you', 'I am hungry', 'help me', 'I am poor'. All of them claimed to
6 have family members to feed at home and they stated that begging was a means of survival. The
7 women also revealed that on average, they earn less than 200 Indian Rupees daily (approximately
8 2 USD). They complained that this was not enough and therefore, they looked for donations from
9 tourists which they prefer to sell in the black market. They complained about lack of money to buy
10 food, but of the 11 women interviewed, 9 of them were found to have mobile phones. When further
11 questioned on their mobile phones, all of them individually gave the same answer; it was a gift
12 from tourists or rich people. The unanimous statement raised some doubts, but without evidence,
13 the claim could not be verified obviously. While some studies dealing with begging (see Williams
14 and Windebank, 2002), show that begging is a survival activity practiced by those who lack
15 alternative income-generating opportunities, in the present context, it would seem that begging
16 was just an alternative job to earn additional money and probably, the women were part of an
17 organized gang and mobiles were required to communicate to their begging partners, thus
18 concluding that they could be termed as professional beggars, as remarked in the study of Bukoye
19 (2015). While the men were reluctant to discuss their family background, they were more open to
20 discuss about their opinion on begging network and their future plans. The oldest male beggar (62
21 years old) claimed that he wanted to save money to go back to his village while the others stated
22 that they prefer to beg because it is a lucrative business if they work in a team. The passive and
23 aggressive also mentioned that begging was a profession in the family and they even claimed that
24 begging is like just any work and it requires knowledge on how to beg and generate money.
25 Moreover, all them (except the older male beggar) unanimously mentioned about their business
26 relationship with shopkeepers. They informed that money is rather generated from the shopkeeper,
27 as they mostly encourage tourists to buy food items for them and eventually, they sell to
28 shopkeepers who give them money in return. The findings corroborate with Andriotis (2016) in
29 Greece, where begging were also found to be a lucrative business. Based on his study in Crete, the
30 author posits that that begging is not always a survival activity by those who lack alternative
31 income-generating opportunities, rather, it seems that begging has turned into something of a
32 lucrative profession and that mendicancy for those who beg in tourist areas can be remarkably

profitable. Overall, information generated from interviews show that all of them chose to beg, as they were in need of money and food for survival. However, non-participant observations revealed that most of the male beggars, bought liquor, cigarettes and Rajniganda (local tobacco) along with few food items, whereas some female beggars were more inclined towards the purchase of cosmetics, fancy jewelry along with food items.

Black Market Tourism in Chaar Minaar (Hyderabad)

Overall findings show that begging has developed into a lucrative industry without costly investment and that beggars operate in a cartel. The black market was found to be mostly encouraged by shopkeepers. For instance, a woman, aged 38 was seen following a German tourist till a long distance. At first glance, it would seem that the reason for begging was livelihood. However, after listening to their conversation near a coffee shop, it became evident that begging was undertaken with the aim of trading in the black market. The woman proposed traditional massage and sexual services against watches, cameras and other personal belongings the tourist might possess. These were sold at cheaper price in the black market run by their own gang and the money was eventually shared among the team. This confirms the point observed by Andriotis (2016) that begging is not always a survival activity but rather, a lucrative profession for those who beg in tourist areas. The old woman also confirmed that she had a university Degree, and she was a once working in the United States of America. The finding corroborates with that of Riaz and Baloch (2019:76) in Pakistan: “people who involve in begging is more often continue to work as a professional beggar and do not join any respectable profession”.

A further observation showed a family willing to help one male beggar accompanied by two children (but which definitely did not look as his own) by directly buying school items from a stationary store in Chaar Minaar. While the tourists thought they were being wise by avoiding money donation which could be used for buying cigarette and alcohol, they were completely duped as the beggar sold back the copy books, educative logos and school bags in the black market and obtained quite a good amount of money in exchange. Two women beggars were found borrowing babies from their mothers in order to evoke pity and attract attention. They approached tourists

with the aim of making them feel sympathy and solicited for milk and baby product. The second beggar was smarter as she convinced an old tourist to buy baby clothes, baby walker, toys, milk and baby food for an amount of 1000 US Dollar. The tourists who believed to be engaged in a noble act was again duped as, the products were all sold back in the black market against money. With the help of ignorant tourists, the black market was certainly encouraged and stakeholders involved enjoyed the profit. In some cases, donated sari, lehenga and kurtee (traditional lady clothes) were re-packaged and sold to public with 200 % profit or more. Obviously, beggars operate in an established network and they receive money from selling their alms which are donated in the form of foodstuff, clothing, school materials, shoes, kitchen wares, house wares among others. The findings somewhat corroborates with Erskine and McIntosh (1999) who qualify such beggars as professional impostors working in an organized criminal network and trying to use children to evoke pity. The black market was indeed found to be an emerging underground economy with 'organized begging' (Andriotis, 2016) and established stakeholders.

Further observations indicated that beggars were using a combination of various techniques to achieve their target. For instance, performing and aggressive techniques were common among the younger male beggars. Some were dressed very attractively using local tribal clothing and they invited tourist to take pictures with them. Just like Charlie Chaplin were perceived by locals as cunning and exploiting tourists (See Andriotis, 2016), in Chaar Minaar, a different form of exploitation was observed. International tourists (mostly of Indian origin) were scammed by beggars wearing traditional clothes and blessing tourists by voluntarily tying a red bracelet (called Raksha Sutra) round their wrist. Eventually, unreasonable amount of money was claimed for the bracelet and those who refused to donate were cursed. In fact, the problem of beggars and tourists in Chaar Minaar has been a real struggle in overall Hyderabad since more than a decade. This is evidenced in one of the local newspaper (Hyderabad News) which reveal that Charminar is a preferred destination for tourists and beggars. The obvious reason is that since with the currency exchange rate of the Indian rupee being lower than that of many developed nations, tourists end up handing over more money to the beggars than locals do. Therefore, for beggars, Chaar Minaar is the place to capitalize upon. Of late, international tourists are not the only targets of beggars, local ones are also targeted. In other cases, beggars were seen inviting tourists to take pictures with them and with the help of their fellow partners, they produced the picture instantly and claimed

for money. One beggar was accompanied by a decorated animal and invited tourists to take a ride against unreasonable sum of money (See Figure 2).

INSERT FIGURE 2

In other cases, they forcibly performed rituals by using the same religious items every time, and urged tourists to buy grains, fruits, milk, and other items to perform prayers. In various religions, giving alms and supporting religious beggars is seen as an opportunity to earn God's blessings (Riaz and Baloch, 2019). Therefore, in most cases, beggars were successful in achieving their objectives and undoubtedly, donated items were sold in the black market, thus confirming the views of Malik and Roy (2012): organized begging can be remarkably profitable.

This phenomenon of black market tourism was also seen to manifest in weird ways in other areas of India. In some extreme cases, monkeys are used as counterparts to participate in the black market transaction. Monkeys are trained by residents to jump on visitors and frighten them. After falling down from the Rikshaw (a three wheeled bicycle), beggars approach for rescue and propose medical aid which is all again premeditated and a commission is handed by the doctor to the once the visitor is gone. At times, a third party also intervene in the process and steal belongings of visitors and disappear in the crowd. Those are then sold to the underground economy (surrounding shops). The study of in India Malik and Roy (2012) shows that the economic growth in India is quite visible through infrastructural and industrial growth in metros but the same is overshadowed by the smartness of the re-invented beggars.

From the shopkeeper's perspective, not much could be extracted as they were not too willing to participate in conversations. This was probably due to their educational background; they were probably aware that opening up to researchers might lead to the closing down of the business if the matter was reported to police. it would also seem that shopkeepers were interested to buy from beggars as they could obtain goods at cheaper price to be re-sold at a higher price, From information gathered during the interviews, beggars revealed that shop-keepers were operating the black market at the back of the shop and few young men were found working on computers. Through non-participant observations, it could be deduced that shopkeepers had a major role in

the begging process, as they were the ones providing cash against donations from beggars. Informal interviews revealed that beggars were more interested in money than goods obtained from tourists. As a result, they used techniques to acquire goods from tourists and these were sold to shopkeepers who would hand over money to them. Beggars needed money to buy goods of their choice; some revealed that they were addicted to Rajniganda (a local tobacco), others needed money to buy local rums and some needed money to pay their debts. As a result, shopkeepers were found to be important in this black market transaction. The findings support the work of Riaz and Baloch (2019) who observe that a growing number of educated people are now increasingly joining the begging business as it is more profitable.

Overall Implications and Impressions

Drawing from Hyderabad’s popular comedian, Rajasekhar Mamidanna, who innovatively termed beggars as ‘street entrepreneurs’ (thewire.in, 2019), it would seem that beggarism in Chaar Minaar indeed possess entrepreneurship characteristics with beggars as entrepreneurs, tourism as the market and shopkeepers as intermediators. Overall findings provide clear evidence that beggars are no less than marketers and they use specific techniques to urge tourists to donate goods which are eventually sold back to a black market comprising an organized gang. From information gathered during interviews, it could be deduced that members operating the black market were mainly the shopkeepers and they had an office with computers at the backside of the shop. The black market tourism may not be interrupted so easily as it comprises an entangled network with tourists from one end and an established cartel of people from another end. The black market is encouraged by tourists who unknowingly fall into the trap of beggars who use pity (passive begging), sympathy (performance begging) and sometimes authority (aggressive begging) as medium to reach tourists. The shopkeepers are found to be an important stakeholder in the black market, as they are the ones who provide money to beggars in exchange of goods acquired by beggars from tourists. Unlike existing studies which indicated that tourism and beggarism are two sides of a coin (one side shows tourism as an activity contributing to socio-economic development and the other side shows beggarism as an activity of socio-economic

discrimination), the current study reveals that tourism and beggarism are inter-connected; tourists are unknowingly encouraging the black market to grow.

From another perspective, tourists are permanently connected and very often they upload live pictures and videos on tourism sites, locals and other malpractices (see Gowreesunkar et al, 2018) This kind of instant reaction has weakened the position of many tourism counterparts who are now careful so as not to be black listed online (see tourism scam in India, travelscam.org; hippie-inheels.com). As witnessed in the work of Seraphin et al (2019), anti-tourism movement is encouraged and tourismphobia may be the consequence if harassment persists in tourism sites. Cities around the world have witnessed the emergence of anti-tourism movements due to large number of visitors (Seraphin, Sheeran and Pilato, 2018). Since tourists are now permanently connected and have access to information, the idea of forming anti-tourism movement against harassment from beggars is not to be neglected.

Similar to tourists, beggars also use technology to operate their 'street enterprise' and as professional marketers, they use smart strategies to sustain the black market. In this context, beggars are not seen as an obstacle (Goffman, 1963), rather they present themselves as a package palatable enough to lure the tourists seeking to experience authenticity. From the standpoint of the tourist, encounters with beggars disrupt the habitual way of being a tourist (Lozanski, 2013). Unlike the study of Andriotis (2016) who portrayed beggars as an assault on tourists, the present one presents them as a co-creator of the tourism process. Tourism is a co-created experience between the tourist and the local according to Gowreesunkar, Seraphin and Morisson (2018). The study by Chockalingum and Ganesh (2016) and Gowreesunkar (2019) also confirm a similar outcome; beggars sometimes are seen as harassers, but still some other times, they are perceived as attractions in their own right for those seeking authenticity in tourism experiences.

The ambidexterity approach proposed by Seraphin et al (2019) shows that ambidexterity calls for a balance between exploration and exploitation. Indeed, the study of Seraphin shows that organisations deeply anchored onto exploration suffer the costs of experimentation with, sometimes, limited benefits. Organisations anchored onto exploitation, on the other hand, do not move forward and remain in a 'status-quo' in terms of performance. Organisations who manage

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to find a balance between exploitation and exploration are likely to be prosperous (Nieto-Rodriguez, 2014). If translated to the current context, it would be plausible to suggest that tourism activities and beggar activities can never be balanced, exploitation and exploration being contradictory in nature; beggars are exploring network (for business) and exploiting tourists (for money). By adopting an ambidextrous management approach geared at meeting the needs of key stakeholders involved (that is, tourist, beggar and shopkeeper) the black market tourism could probably be transformed into a formal tourism business for low-spenders tourists and backpackers. Promoting India as a begging-free destination is certainly being highly promoted. However, with the so many cities of India using similar culture as a tourism resource, Indian destinations looking into the possibility of offering a differentiated product, cannot afford to continue to rely on the same cliché used in its embryological stage of tourism development. In order to bring the edge in competition, it might be plausible to look differently at this beggar-tourism encounter and create a new form of tourism product which might appeal to the unpredictable 21st century tourists (Gowreesunkar and Dixit, 2017) who are more interested in authenticity and simplicity.

Finally, the overall impression of this study is summarized through a framework which highlights the main points of this study; black market tourism is induced by two main concepts namely beggarism and tourism (in the present case study) and the main stakeholders are tourists, beggars and shopkeepers. However, the unavailability of accurate data on number and characteristics of beggars reduces the degree of coherence and reality of the overall picture and real input. Figure 3 represents the new black market tourism framework which requires statistical testing to draw inferences on the relationship

INSERT FIGURE 3 HERE

The study provides a theoretical contribution in the area of black market tourism, as so far, there is scant studies which researched beggarism and tourism from a black market perspective. The given research proposed and examined the implications of beggarism in tourism and the impacts from a black market perspective.

From a practical point of view, the study provides information not only to destination managers interested to diversify the tourism product, but also to policy makers who are fighting against begging in the city of Hyderabad. The beggar experience can be used to attract more tourists seeking authenticity, provided that the process is improved by adding in some level of professionalism. Authenticity is a major pull factors for destinations and this has been evidenced in many tourism studies (see Seraphin and Gowreesunkar, 2017; Ballengee-Morris, 2002; Thomson, 2004). For instance, beggars could be trained to perform decently in a town hall where tourists are invited to attend cultural shows. To some extent, this study may also help empowering beggars to become part of the tourism ecosystem. This is important, as modern society has disempowered economically- disadvantaged members of the community (Hutton, 2016). However, how to still include the shopkeeper in the tourism process is worthy of contemplation. Since findings reveal that the shopkeepers have backside offices and they have a certain level of education, they could probably work on the marketing aspect of this form of tourism and help in attracting tourists by supplying brochures and flyers to tourists. Ultimately, the study attempted to show that disempowered members of the community are not always passive and powerless. They can create business from another business (a re-invented form of beggarism that has potential to generate money out of tourism).

Conclusion

The current study has sought to bring to light a new concept – black market tourism – a form of street enterprise derived from a triangular transaction involving beggars, tourists and an organised gang of shopkeepers. Information gathered shows that the black market tourism is run by an educated pool of people who prefer begging the business than joining formal professions. Beggarism is found to be a highly lucrative business with interesting yield. This was evidenced by statements made by interviewees. What makes this study unique from previous ones, is that it attempts to unveil a re-invented form of beggarism based on technology and networking. Similar to tourists, beggars are now sophisticated and they are exploiting opportunities for competitive advantage using tourism as their market. Overall, this empirical study attempts to bring a meaningful synthesis of this black market function in tourism and suggests that tourists and

shopkeepers are often unknowingly instigating this form of business; tourists donate items and products to beggars, with the notion that it is a noble action to help the helpless; shopkeepers find it profitable to accept second hand products at a lower buying price and they encourage beggars to sell more of such products against cash. Ultimately, the black market is a win-win for beggars and shopkeepers, with tourists as the invisible party. Findings also show that begging is developing into a lucrative industry without costly investment and beggars operate in a cartel. The black tourism market is found to be an emerging underground tourism economy with established stakeholders, who are rapidly progressing and growing their network. The network is seen to be increasingly attracting educated and young professionals. The overall findings offer new information on a reinvented form of beggarism and unveils that this black market is a well-entrenched system operated by an educated pool of people and professional.

From a methodological point of view, the combination of data collected from different sources revealed quite concrete details of activities and contexts in which beggarism occurred. These provided deeper insight on beggars-tourists' interactions, beggar-shopkeeper interactions and hence the overall black market tourism process which otherwise, could not have been achieved with the use of obtrusive methods. The sample being very limited, it is important to stress the limited possibilities to generalize the findings of this study to other destinations. Moreover, the assumption that the background of the local researcher background might have influenced the interpretation of primary data need not be neglected, thus suggesting a further examination in order to confirm validity of the results. Nonetheless, in this setting, the qualitative data collected suggests a number of theoretical, empirical and methodological questions, as well as stimulates ideas for further research. Thus, the this research is explorative and provides a consistent and empirically based starting-point for research on black market tourism involving beggar-tourist and beggar-shopkeeper interactions in Indian cities. Therefore, future research may consider a replication of those observations in order to understand whether black market tourism has a wider relevancy in other Indian cities. Despite the study's potential contributions to both theoretical and practical world, it is advisable that readers evaluate the findings and the research design considerations in the light of obvious limitations

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